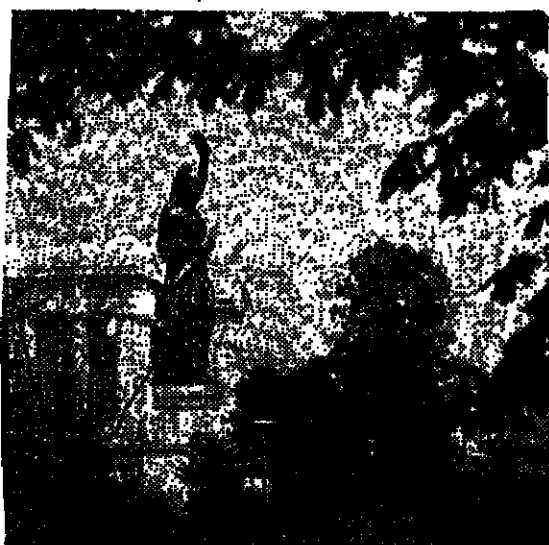




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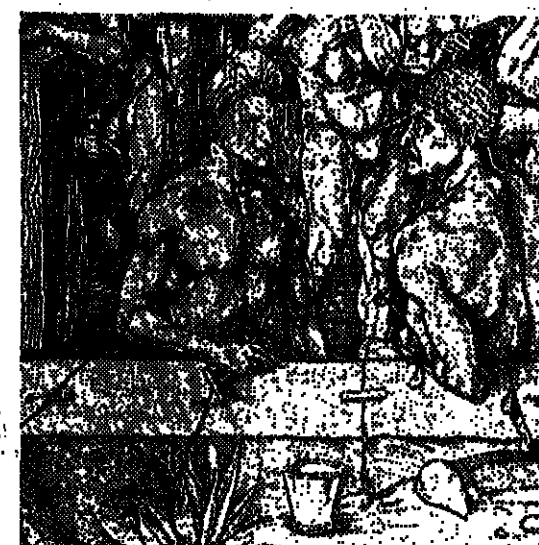
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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Hamburg, 4 November 1971
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Political ramifications of Peace Prize deserve consideration



Names in the news change fast and furiously in this day and age and last week's sensation, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Willy Brandt, has already faded in newsworthiness in comparison with other, in some cases more controversial topics.

The abundance of views and opinions voiced in the wake of the decision by the five Wise Men in Oslo nonetheless still merit thinking about, particularly as the award ceremony is not to take place for another six weeks.

The Prize awarded to the Chancellor is, to quote one American comment, a factor in world affairs. It is also, one is tempted to add, a factor in home affairs. In varying degrees the award or non-award of the Swedish dynamite manufacturer's prize, intended to be a moral yardstick, has become a political factor over the years. Seldom, however, has it been quite such a political dynamite as on this occasion.

It has always been basically the same problem. Should the Prize be awarded to a man of ideas, an altruist whose work points the world in the direction of lasting peace, or ought it to go to a

policy pursued, a policy of which the outcome is as yet uncertain.

None of the many commentaries has disputed for a moment that the man himself is worthy of the award.

One important point is that the award has been made to a German – 27 years after Auschwitz, as many commentators were quick to note.

This year's Nobel Prize, French and other leader writers commented, amounts to absolution or the final act thereof. The heritage of the Third Reich has at long last been consigned to history.

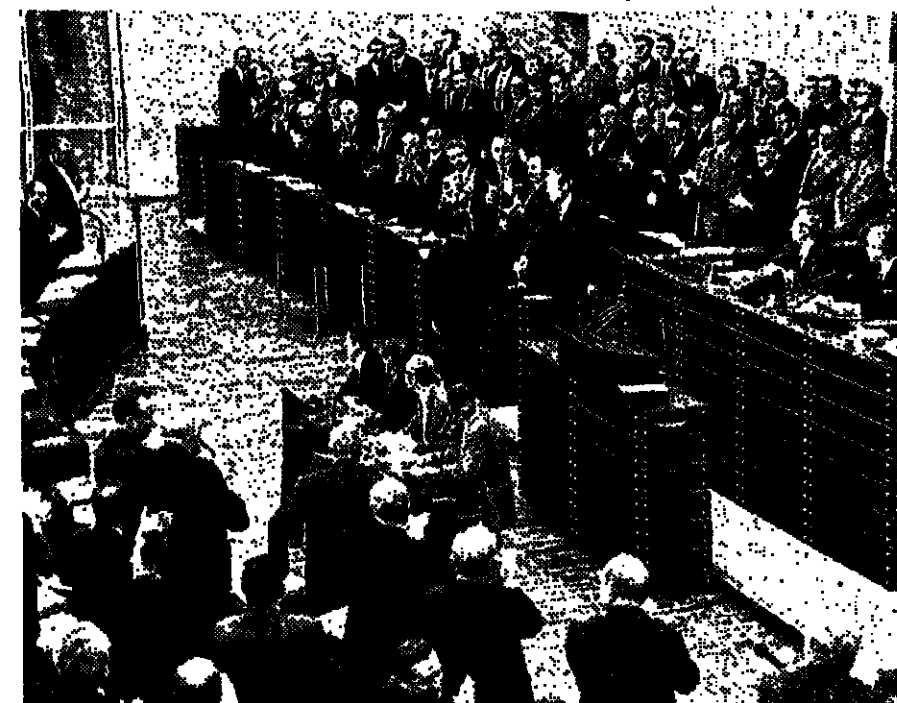
Oddly enough, this kind of comment serves to remind us that the heritage of the past is still a burden this country has to shoulder. The reminder is, perhaps, timely. History can never be consigned completely to oblivion.

A second, major aspect of the Nobel Peace Prize award is the repercussions at home of the praise for Willy Brandt's foreign policy.

"Brandt will not have less difficulty in securing ratification of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw," a major French newspaper noted in its headline, and there is, of course, a fair amount of truth in this frank comment.

On the day after the news of the award Rainer Barzel, Opposition leader in the Bundestag, delivered a noteworthy speech in which he rejected total confrontation between government and Opposition in favour of objective debate on, specifically, *Ostpolitik*.

It may, of course, well be that this or a similar move would have been made regardless of the previous day's news. But the Opposition leader was astute enough himself briefly to note a certain connection between the two events in order to



Chancellor Willy Brandt was given a standing ovation in the Bundestag when it was announced that he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and CDU leader, Rainer Barzel, congratulated the Chancellor. (Photo: J.H. Darchinger)

Walter Scheel's whistle-stop tour of West Africa

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The idea of Foreign Minister Walter Scheel embarking on a whistle-stop tour of Africa is a strange one. Five countries in ten days (Nigeria, Congo-Kinshasa, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Mauritania) is fast work, without a shadow of a doubt.

This is particularly true of these particular countries since geographical proximity is pretty well all they have in common. They differ considerably in political outlook, history, development and so on. What is more, their climates differ, which does not make the programme any easier.

At the same time it would be wrong to conclude that the whole tour is a waste of time because nothing useful can come of it. It would have done him no harm to take more time but Walter Scheel can claim to have coped with the tour faster than others would have managed.

To begin with, he is conversant with the individual countries and their problems from his years as Minister of Development Aid. He knows his hosts too, many of them personally, and Walter Scheel is the last man one could accuse of finding it hard to make contacts.

What is more, his talks were carefully prepared in advance, by the Foreign Ministers of the countries concerned on the one hand and by Herr Scheel himself in talks with his opposite numbers at the UN General Assembly in New York.

The only accusation that can justifiably be levelled is one that his wife could make. Strenuous tours of this kind cannot do his health any good.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 October 1971)

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FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU
A statesman representing a nation at the helm whose decisions, for good or for ill, will decide whether there is war or peace?

For year the award committee has been for either the one solution or the other. Occasionally indeed awarding the Prize to institutions, much in the manner of a charitable body.

This year's award represents a leap right into the minute world affairs, the response, critical and approving, generally reflects an assessment of the

Bonn-Paris cooperation vital to Europe



Franco-Federal Republic friendship, the praises of which have often been sung to the point of crowning it with a halo, is a friendship between difficult bedfellows.

The French and the Germans have differing interests, assessments of themselves and traditions. It would be too much to expect the sun always to shine.

Yet even the occasional annoyance with the other party cannot alter the fact that there is no future for a united Europe without a sound basis of cooperation between Paris and Bonn.

This is why Chancellor Brandt chose the right time in holding non-routine talks with President Pompidou to deal with a number of the latest difficulties.

Differences of opinion might otherwise congeal.

It is not only the international monetary crisis that has drawn Bonn and Paris apart; this country's *Ostpolitik* is also making the French think twice.

On the one hand they are having to come to terms with a new German self-awareness, on the other there are differences of opinion as to the further steps that remain to be taken.

France, having for the last ten years built up its defences behind a US-German protective shield, is bound to feel troops in Central Europe to be more problematic than this country does, being in a different political and military position.

The Bonn government repeatedly emphasises that its *Ostpolitik* can only be based on "remaining embedded in an active *Westpolitik*."

The meeting between Brandt and Pompidou forms part of this most essential activity.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 October 1971)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Soviet domestic and foreign policies reviewed

DIE ZEIT

Moscow's current attitude towards the West is characterised not only by diplomatic and propagandist verve but also by a quality that is new. Signing of the Berlin Agreement and concern with troop cuts, a topic that has been studiously avoided for years, bear witness to fresh substance.

Soviet readiness to continue the detente dialogue with Western Europe and the United States irrespective even of President Nixon's declared intention of visiting Peking and Moscow's willingness to acknowledge existing ties and links in the West are indicative of a new realism. The Soviet endeavour to become partners with the West in technology and trade has assumed a fresh sense of urgency.

How credible is this trend towards detente and change in Europe on the Kremlin's part? How highly can it be rated and to what extent can it be considered a long-term policy?

There can be no gainsaying the existence of a worrying uncertainty as to the motives and background of the latest Kremlin policy. To a considerable extent, though, it can be defused and viewed more objectively after close scrutiny and analysis.

An attempt to do just this was made at the recent Bonn conference of the Federal Republic Eastern European Studies Association. Wolfgang Leonhard provided information on Soviet domestic policy and Richard Löwenthal reviewed Soviet foreign policy.

Leonhard retraced the path taken by Moscow since October 1964 and the end of the relaxed and experimental policies pursued by Nikita Khrushchev and leading up to the rigid approach to home affairs and dislike of reform shown by Leonid Brezhnev.

Already in April 1965, a mere six months after the fall of Khrushchev, the moratorium on de-Stalinisation so characteristic of the Brezhnev era was imposed.

In a succession of memoirs written by Second World War generals Stalin's name was again cast in a positive light and emphasis given to his role as a major war leader.

The foundations of the conservative Brezhnev regime were then laid in swift succession. The Soviet military budget was drastically increased and a campaign launched to foster military patriotism.

A watered-down version of economic reform was announced, considerably scaling down original targets. Cultural policies were tightened up and a purge of the agitprop machine conducted.

The mass media were also affected by the purge and writers Yuri Daniel and Andrei Sinyavski arrested, tried and sentenced.

Reversion to a domestic policy line geared primarily to discipline, order, authority and maintenance of power has also influenced ideological trends.

Khrushchev's conciliatory-sounding tenets of the "Party of the entire people" and the "peaceful transition to Socialism" were consigned to oblivion.

In their place Leonid Brezhnev called for unwavering ideological warfare against right-wing opportunists, revisionists, Trotskyites and other deviationists.

Leonhard attributes this ideological clarification, loudly sounded in spring 1968, not only to the Prague experiment with humane and democratic Com-

munist but also, indeed primarily, to the renewed virulence of domestic opposition in the Soviet Union.

In recent years, Wolfgang Leonhard noted, Soviet domestic opposition has changed in character. Under the influence of a general reversion to inflexibility and motivated by disappointed hopes of reform individual acts of protest have given way to a truly collective movement with programmatic ideas.

Soviet underground literature has grown more political. The spark of opposition has extended from youthful extremist splinter groups to liberal groups that under Khrushchev formed part of the Establishment. More and more scientists and technocrats are involved.

The movement has yet to attain any political significance but it nonetheless represents a potential element of uncertainty for a regime accustomed to modes of government increasingly contrasting with the aspirations of Soviet industrial society.

The turn of home affairs in the Soviet Union is termed by Leonhard "limited neo-Stalinism." Optically it differs quite fundamentally from the Stalinism of the feared Soviet past.

Mass terror has been replaced by controlled doses of terror. The ruthless priority given by Stalin to heavy industry has given way to a greater consideration for consumer goods.

Despite an unmistakable increase in his personal power Leonid Brezhnev has yet to emerge as an uncontrollable sole ruler, for that matter. There are, then, limits to the Brezhnev cult.

The crucial characteristic of the Brezhnev regime, condemned as it is to collectivity, would appear to be immobility. There is a lack of punch in the direction of either tough re-Stalinisation or further-reaching reformist de-Stalinisation.

Firmly entrenched behind its ideological defences and possessed by the idea of maintaining its power the Brezhnev era is an impediment in the way of the computer age.

Soviet economic problems, unresolved but acknowledged to exist, are forcing Moscow to resort to foreign policy measures to relieve the burden, including a more flexible approach towards the West.

Richard Löwenthal in his foreign policy review also took the "compulsion to practise coexistence" as his point of departure.

The post-revolutionary, conservative Kremlin leadership is no longer bent on wishful thinking and revolutionary policies aimed at putting the world out of joint.

In view of the nuclear balance of terror and the uncertainty of its Eastern European buffer zone it is for the most part engaged in conventional power politics, promptly exploiting the other side's weaknesses but basing its moves primarily on security considerations.

Political ramifications of Peace Prize

Continued from page 1

dangerous enterprise as policy towards the Eastern Bloc.

Domestic criticism of aspects of Ostpolitik such as the circumstances of the Chancellor's recent visit to the Soviet Union cannot be offset by the weight of world opinion. It is, when all is said and done, the ways and means that matter.

Which brings us back to the problems of a Peace Prize, problems that are

At home the Soviet leaders are intent on maintaining Party power; abroad priority is given to consolidation of Soviet possessions.

To illustrate this shift in emphasis in Soviet policy towards the West Löwenthal differentiated between Warsaw Pact targets as exemplified by the July 1966 Bucharest communiqué and the March 1969 Budapest declaration.

In 1966 Moscow still aimed at both gaining recognition of its Eastern European possessions and ensuring disintegration of the Western alliance.

The 1969 Budapest call for a European security conference also included a demand for acknowledgement of the Soviet sphere of influence but on this occasion there was no questioning the Western alliance and integration.

A number of motives may be adduced for the Soviet decision in favour of priority for consolidation of power while at the same time being prepared to pursue a policy of detente.

First, Czechoslovakia again underlined the crisis-prone nature of the Soviet sphere of influence. The invasion of Czechoslovakia stripped Kremlin demands for a dissolution of military blocs of all credibility.

Second, Bonn's Ostpolitik presented the Soviet Union with the opportunity of gaining fresh status quo advantages in return for concessions on Berlin and good behaviour towards Europe as a whole.

Third, the return of China to the world stage compelled the Kremlin to seek safeguards for its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe and also to reappraise its relationship with the West.

Fourth, the Soviet Union's worldwide overcommitment began to make its presence felt, primarily in the form of an economic burden. Economic bottlenecks proved increasingly problematic as consumer demand in the Soviet home market increased and the technological gap widened.

The desire for a degree of relief from the burden of overcommitment without surrender of terrain is the main motive behind Soviet foreign policy at present. Both aims would be enhanced by the holding of a European security conference.

A conference would on the one hand provide a welcome forum for establishing advantageous economic links with the West. On the other it would help to further international recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

Richard Löwenthal ended on an optimistic note. In Europe today, he concluded, security by means of relaxation of tension has come to be a distinct possibility.

Detente alone, he added, was not enough. It must be combined with loyalty to the Western alliance and defence preparedness.

A further proviso would seem necessary. The security Löwenthal means is that of Western Europe. It is of little assistance to Eastern Europe, which remains firmly incorporated in the power-political system of the Soviet Union.

But not even the subtlest of renunciations of the use of force at a security conference can make much difference to this state of affairs. For that the time has yet to come.

Andreas Kohlschütter
(Die Zeit, 22 October 1971)

Soviet statesmen on the move

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Soviet Premier Kosygin's latest comes in the middle of a succession of political visits by himself, President Podgorny and, even more significantly, General Secretary Brezhnev.

Recent visits have been paid to Yugoslavia, Algeria, Morocco and France. At the end of this month Leonid Brezhnev is to visit France and Alexei Kossygin to tour Norway and Denmark.

What accounts for this sudden spate of Soviet diplomatic activity? In a number of cases it is a matter, in formal terms, return visits. Even then the timing is significant.

Moscow evidently feels it now advisable to demonstrate manifold foreign policy activity. It would like to be in a position of strength in conducting the variously inaugurated talks with Washington in coming to an agreement.

It would like to pave the way for the European security conference on which it is so keen. Anxiety in a number of countries lest the Federal Republic might take itself too much towards the Soviet Union might result in backlash. Moscow would like to demonstrate its reliability with this in mind.

At the same time it is hard to visualize these hectic exchanges, including, of course, visits to the Soviet Union, not having been influenced to some considerable extent by the unexpected announcement of another visit altogether, President Nixon's visit to Peking.

In view of this American initiative the Soviet Union would like to underline its own position in the world, with particular attention being paid to the Mediterranean region.

A contributory factor may well be that it is proving more difficult than was originally envisaged to secure effective bases in the Mediterranean. It will seem worthwhile to lend a diplomatic hand.

The wave of Soviet diplomatic activity need not, then, necessarily be viewed as reflection of Moscow's strength. It might well be attributable to anxiety and uncertainty, a response to developments and moves by others rather than a first move.

Even so, there can be no disregarding the immense military strength that in the final analysis backs up Soviet moves.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 October 1971)

The German Tribune

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PEACE PRIZE

Norwegian parliament honours Chancellor Willy Brandt

On 21 October 1969 Willy Brandt, German Chancellor of the Federal Republic, was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. The clash of dates is pure coincidence but it does show clearly how little time it has taken for Willy Brandt to make his mark on world politics.

Willy Brandt's efforts to carry out the seemingly impossible task of bridging the points in common between the East and West of divided postwar Europe in order to "make peace more certain" are not confined to the time he has been Chancellor of the Federal Republic, two years on 21 October this year.

They stretch back to the time when Brandt became Mayor of Berlin, when he began to reflect on ways of overcoming the division of the City, unable to change the facts, but this did not make him into a fighter of the Cold War.

It strengthened his resolve to find a way that was not strewn with illusions in which the plight of the Germans in their country divided by concrete and barbed wire could be alleviated. Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik as Chancellor which earned him the Nobel Prize has its origins in his Berlin days.

As governing Mayor of Berlin he negotiated an agreement on passes allowing East Berliners to cross the Wall. As Chancellor he attempted to make the state demarcation line between the two Germanies and the two halves of Europe less relevant.

The progress along this road can be charted out in five different stages, each corresponding to a name on the map - East, Kassel, Warsaw, Moscow and Olanda.

The way was cleared for the Erfurt meeting, the first official pan-German gathering since 1947, by Willy Brandt's statement of government policy on 28 October 1969. Among other things this speech recognised the existence of the German Democratic Republic, stating: "Twenty years after the founding of the Federal Republic and the GDR we must prevent the German nation splitting even further, we must work towards a regulated peaceful co-existence and aim for unification of the two parts."

This basic idea runs like a thread through all Willy Brandt's speeches and actions.

At his meeting with the GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph on 19 March in Erfurt Willy Brandt said: "The situation demands that we search for spheres in which it is possible to make progress towards peace on behalf of the people of Germany."

In Erfurt he saw at first hand the spontaneous unanimous expression of joy and hope as the crowd cheered "Willy, Willy" underlining the fact that another central feature of his policies is of vital significance and must remain in his renunciation of force policy based on the territorial status quo. He said: "I shall continue to base my actions on the continuing, living reality of one German nation."

The second stage on the intra-German road in the attempt to break down confrontation between East and West step by step was marked by the meeting in Kassel of Stoph and Brandt on 21 May 1970. Kassel in fact marked a step in the wrong direction since the GDR delegation insisted obstinately on recognition of the other German State in international law.

What remained after Kassel was that twenty-point programme which the Bonn government placed as a suggestion before the GDR for improving relations between the two countries.

Point one reads: "The FRG and the GDR, whose constitutions both aim at the reunification of the country, should in the interests of peace, the future and the cohesion of the country devise a treaty defining and regulating the relationship that exists between the two countries, improving the connections between the people and the States and contributing towards removing existing disadvantages."

Even before the pan-German meeting at government level in Kassel preparations had been made for the treaty on the renunciation of the use or threat of force between the Federal Republic and the USSR at the West German/Soviet talks between Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and this country's representative State Secretary Egon Bahr. This was announced by Chancellor Brandt in his government policy statement and was signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

From Moscow Brandt spoke to people in this country on television, expressing once again his basic motivation for his policy of detente and peace with the East.

Brandt said: "Twenty-five years after the surrender of Hitler's destroyed Third Reich and fifteen years after Konrad Adenauer resumed diplomatic relations with Moscow it is high time to re-establish our relationship with the East. The basis must be a mutual unlimited renunciation of force springing from the political situation that now exists in Europe."

"Our national interests do not permit us to stand between the West and East. Our country needs cooperative ventures, agreement with the West and conciliation with the East."

And the next stage, the German-Polish negotiations that led to the signing of the Treaty of Warsaw on 7 December 1970 had also been mentioned in advance by the statement of government policy in October 1969.

Perhaps it was that gesture of Willy Brandt's at the memorial to the victims of

further, we must work towards a regulated peaceful co-existence and aim for unification of the two parts.

"This is not only significant for Germany but is also important for peace in Europe and for the relationship between East and West."

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(Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

Text of Nobel Peace Prize Committee citation

During the whole postwar period the unsolved German Problem has posed a latent danger for peace. In this time there have been many efforts to counter tension in this dangerous sphere with a spirit of detente.

The Nobel Committee of Stortinget, the Norwegian parliament, has this day awarded the Peace Prize to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt. By this choice the committee has tried to execute the intentions expressed in the testament of Alfred Nobel.

As the leader of the Federal Republic of Germany and in the name of the German people Willy Brandt has stretched out a hand in reconciliation between peoples who were for a long time enemies.

In a spirit of goodwill he has achieved extraordinary results in paving the way for peace in Europe. Political and military detente between East and West Europe are prerequisites for peaceful development.

The Committee ascribes great significance to the fact that as Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic from 1966 and then as Chancellor from 1969 Willy Brandt in motion initiatives for detente.

The Committee takes as evidence the signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Treaties Renouncing the Use or Threat of Force with both Poland and the Soviet Union.

Moreover the Committee begs to give a reminder of Willy Brandt's efforts to guarantee the people of West Berlin the basic rights of personal security and freedom of movement.

Willy Brandt sees the strengthening of cooperation in Western Europe as an integral binding part of a peace plan for the whole Europe. With regard to the strengthening of the economic and political unit of Western Europe the Federal Chancellor has also seized vital initiatives.

The Nobel Committee considers the whole of his work as a fundamental contribution towards making a peaceful development not only in Europe, but also in the whole world, possible.

(Unofficial translation)

the Warsaw ghetto, which surprised so many people, that impressed the world more than anything else - and the Nobel Committee, too. Brandt's humble kneeling was a symbol of the new Germany, a sign of the policies that were required in a divided Europe and a mark of Willy Brandt's personal concept.

In his televised broadcast to the German people Brandt brought out the point of the agreement with these words: "The Treaty of Warsaw is to mark the end of an era of suffering and sacrifices which belongs to an evil past. It is to create a bridge between the two States and the two peoples. It should pave the way along which divided families can walk towards being reunited with one another."

The latest stage in Willy Brandt's efforts to "make peace more certain" is his journey to Olanda in the Crimea between 16 and 18 September this year to meet the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party Leonid Brezhnev.

Not only was this journey greeted in different quarters with sceptical and mistrustful reactions here and abroad. For many it would be a nightmare for Germans and Russians to come to terms.

Both in the joint communiqué and in public statements and diplomatic announcements after his return Willy Brandt tried to clarify the motives for his journey to meet Brezhnev in the face of these suspicions.

Reinhard Appel
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 October 1971)

The Nobel Peace Prize

The Nobel Prize for Peace has been awarded to 64 persons, and twelve times to international organisations in the course of the past seventy years, with the exception for the war years.

The International Red Cross Committee has received the coveted award five times. Of the individuals who have received the award there were fifteen Norwegians, nine Frenchmen and seven Germans.

The first man to receive the Peace Prize was the founder of the Red Cross, Jean Henri Dunant, in 1901. Among other award winners are Theodore Roosevelt, Austen Chamberlain, Frank Kellogg, Ralph Bunche, Albert Schweitzer, George C. Marshall, Dag Hammarskjöld and Dr Martin Luther King.

Willy Brandt is the 56th German to receive a Nobel Prize in one of the six categories awarded every year.

The last German to be awarded a Peace Prize from the Norwegian parliament was the political commentator

Carl von Ossietzky in 1935. He was unable to receive the prize, since he had been incarcerated in a concentration camp by the National Socialists. In 1938 he died in captivity as the result of the privations he had suffered in the camp.

Previous Peace Prize recipients from Germany were Reichs Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann in 1926, who shared the prize with the French educationalist and champion of the peace movement Ferdinand Buisson.

The prize is always awarded on 10 December, the birthday of Alfred Nobel. Awards are made on the recommendation of a select committee from the Norwegian parliament.

The members of this committee are sworn to absolute secrecy about the names on their short list. The award is made in the Main Hall of Oslo University. Recipients wear an informal dark suit. The committee explains exhaustively the reasons for its choices and the first to congratulate award winners is the Norwegian king.

ARMED FORCES

General discusses complex factors of *Innere Führung*

Summa Allgemeine

In recent years a number of books of varying quality have been issued dealing with the armed forces and their position within a democracy.

Younger writers more than any other group have apportioned praise and criticism according to their intellectual point of view but they have not been able to rely adequately enough on empirical examination when reaching their judgment.

But, to be quite fair, the writer of this book is also unable to do this. General von Iseemann first describes the origins of *Innere Führung* (Inner Leadership) and its basic principles and then outlines the form it takes in the services.

He discusses its role in instruction, in soldiers' political activity, the personnel situation and welfare services among other spheres before turning to similar innovations abroad. He mentions in particular the Swiss, French, American and Russian armed forces.

The style and execution of the book reveal an experienced and committed officer who fought successfully for the implementation of Inner Leadership in both theory and practice especially as head of the instruction and training section of the First Armoured Brigade and as Defence Ministry spokesman.

What Iseemann has to add to the current discussion on Inner Leadership, a debate that has recently become more lively once again, is on the whole a skillful survey of the educational side of military leadership.

He succeeds in clearing up a number of misunderstandings, explaining concepts and elucidating the efforts of those people in the fifties who formed the idea of a "citizen in uniform", an idea that to this very day has remained unchallenged by serious alternatives.

In his introduction Count Kleimann-egg claims that the book contains mainly what could be described as the real situation within the armed forces but this is only true to a limited extent.

Instead, the book concentrates on what should be the real situation within the armed forces. This feature alone is of merit as the Defence Ministry has still not issued a new fully revised Handbook of Inner Leadership since the first one appeared in 1957.

Iseemann rightly understands Inner Leadership as a type of military leadership adapted to the changes in outside life and as a mental process whose aims and content are determined by the political role of the armed forces, Basic Law and the laws governing military service. Its purpose is to ensure the continuing existence of our democratic system.

Iseemann stresses the dynamic character of Inner Leadership — a feature not given adequate attention by critics up to now — though he deals too little with the contradiction between inner freedom and the protection of latitude for outer action.

This also applies to the tense relationship between civilian society and military life that has never been fully overcome and can only be tempered by integrating the forces into State and society.

Iseemann has written his readable book primarily as a protection. No strict academic yardsticks should therefore be applied to his work.

For obvious reasons his criticism often has to be read from between the lines

even though many of the subjects he deals with certainly deserved harsher treatment.

Sometimes he only gives half the story or conceals a matter entirely. He claims that "the positive forces within the Bundeswehr" (who are the positive forces within the Bundeswehr?) are loyal to their employers and support the ideas they are called upon to defend. This may be true but he supplies no evidence for this important statement.

His discussion of the armed forces' "view of the enemy" is also too short. He should have mentioned how poorly informed the military leadership is about how the subject is currently being treated in the political education given by company commanders.

There is a lot to support the view that the material now used is still that of the fifties which is hardly likely to comply with the present policy of détente.

Another chapter that should be mentioned is the position of the armed forces commanders and their deputies to the whole question of Inner Leadership.

This does not mean what they say in public from time to time but is a question of their true commitment and real understanding of the reform proposals of Count Baudissin and his supporters.

Iseemann cautiously points out the "varying views" of ministers. It would have been more appropriate to point out that the political leadership's hesitancy (for various reasons) to study the armed forces' ideas contributed decisively to the present state of affairs where the principles of Inner Leadership have not been

given precise form and are still the subject of a violent clash of opinions.

The new and mutually related plans now being discussed for changing the structure of the armed forces, armed forces personnel and training and instruction have unquestionably encouraged the Bundeswehr leadership to consider their own plans for reform.

Their aim is to make the Bundeswehr of the seventies more competitive in the face of civilian concerns. The armed forces and private industry would be able to exchange personnel more easily than is the case today and officers would be given better training by means of modern leadership methods so that the necessary qualified new blood would be guaranteed.

For the time being we must wait and see whether implementing these plans all at once would not place too much strain on the armed forces at the present stage of social change.

Whatever the case, the reform plans must be accompanied by a new concept

of political education for the armed forces, one that will be valid in the future too. This is shown in Iseemann's book.

All improvements in organisation — adapted to the needs of the modern industrial society — will remain fragmentary if today's younger generation is not cured of its attitude of opposition towards the State (illustrated in part by the increasing number of conscientious objectors — the 1971 total was twice as high as the 1970 at over thirty thousand) and convince the young of the value of our social system and the fact that military service is a way of ensuring peace.

Hans-Adolf Jacobson
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 11 October 1971)

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THINGS SEEN

Mannheim Festival concentrates on home-produced cinema

Even the warm summer sunshine over the city was unable to hide the fact that the catchphrase of "total information" coined three years ago as an anti-ideological slogan is proving to be more and more of a boomerang.

The spread of democracy throughout the Mannheim Film Week has created a dilemma that will be difficult to solve. The admirable intention of letting everyone and everything take part has led to nothing else but a pluralistic film bazaar, a confusing mish-mash of professionalism and dilettantism.

Its flood of celluloid sweeps away the features that should be indispensable, the intervals during which people could ponder over a film and discuss it with their friends.

It is plain that no mere mortal was able to concentrate on the 128 films from 23 countries shown at 67 performances during the six days of the festival.

A far more important objection is that many films that do not stand out at first glance were suffocated by the avalanche of the non-stop programme.

This autumn Mannheim confirmed what Oberhausen had suggested in the spring — a lot of the revolutionary elan has slowly got into a rut and a general apathy has taken its place.

The sobering realisation that no revolution can be achieved among a working class with petit bourgeois pretensions has generally led to a calming-down process.

Mannheim's Film Week calls itself international but for the last three years at least it has become more and more of a

forum for young West German film-makers.

This narrow-minded nationalism is hardly likely to prove worthwhile enough to attract foreign film directors to book the long trip to Mannheim.

The deep-seated polarisation process that is affecting many branches of daily life in the Federal Republic and that was suggested at last year's Film Week was this year confirmed.

On the one hand there were those directors who were committed to changing the social system and used the cinema as a means of bringing about this change by providing the necessary political ideas.

On the other hand is the group of aesthetes who are only interested in form and ignore content, usually as an expression of their passive protest against a society measuring everything according to performance.

The two sides are irreconcilably opposed. The one group is scorned as propagandists and agitators while the other group is described as pursuing art for art's sake.

There seems to be little likelihood even in the most distant future of the two extremes reaching an understanding or forming a synthesis.

Two examples may serve here — *Where Our Strength Lies* by Adolf Winkelmann and Gerhard Büttenbender and Wim Wenders' *Summer in the City*.

Winkelmann and Büttenbender describe experiments conducted by a number of educationalists. Schoolchildren were told to act as though they were working in a factory so as to open their eyes to contradictions and situations of conflict.

This was done with extreme objectivity and calm. No additional refinement was needed to make the process more noticeable. No artistic tricks detracted from the central theme — the solidarity of the working people. Sober information is dominant, creative effect is not permitted.

Wim Wenders' film was completely different. He has nothing to say, or at any rate he has no story to tell. His 145-minute long film provides an epilogue to a crime story that took place before the film began.

Static camera positions and long picture sequences almost completely lacking in action and expressing only gestures, moods and modes of behaviour provide the film with an austere consistent style which makes it an extreme case of the esoteric cinema with the stress on formal appearance.

Among the eleven films given their first run that competed for the Grand Prix at Mannheim there was no film that could be awarded the victor's crown without reservation.

As the jury awarded the main prize to the Argentinian film *The Road to the Death of Old Reales* by Gerardo Vallejo this verdict can be felt to be a general token of esteem for the whole Latin American film industry. And that should gain unanimous approval.

Henning Harmsen (Hannover, Allgemeine, 12 October 1971)



A scene from the experimental film *Where Our Strength Lies* by Adolf Winkelmann and Gerhard Büttenbender (Photo: Adolf Winkelmann)

Disappointing Berlin Festival needs a shot in the arm

Walther Schumieding, the director of the Berlin Festival, had wanted to spread the attractions of this year's event over a longer period though by the time the Festival was over it could be seen that there were not so many attractions to spread.

There were, it is true, a good number of interesting performances by foreign theatrical companies but it would be rather euphemistic to claim that Berlin's theatres had won great renown this autumn.

The Volksbühentheater were unable to provide a premiere for this year's Festival. Berlin's Deutsche Oper was not particularly successful with Aribert Reimann's *Mohr*, already seen at Schwetzingen, or with Hans Werner Henze's *Natascha Ungeheuer*.

Boleslaw Barlog's contribution to the Festival programme was a staunch and idyllic production of Grabbe's *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung* that certainly did not take advantage of all the opportunities offered by the play. Barlog seems to have lost all ambition of featuring on Berlin's cultural scene.

Barlog's theatre was plagued by bad luck. Beckett's production of his own

Happy Days did not live up to the promise of last year's successful productions by the Nobel Prize winner.

Hans Hollmann was little fortunate in his treatment of Peter Hölter's *Hölterlin*. During the Empedocles scene he sent twenty Hölterlins on stage to provide a heated expressionist chaos. This may be acceptable for the abstract effect it produces.

But Hollmann's tendency to make the actors break up the text, as it were, and speak their parts against the linguistic flow is gradually becoming an affliction. The figure of Hölterlin, to whom Hans-Peter Hallwachs gave an all too casual outline from the very outset, was not interpreted as the play itself intended.

This Hölterlin tottered about stage like a cretin at the end and gave no indication that a revolutionary poet was taking the last step into the voluntary prison of simulated lunacy as the playwright wanted.

It was also puzzling why Hollmann drowned the narrator's uneven verses in music. The production laboriously approached the finale in a state somewhere between popular ballad and operatic parody, reaching it after more than four hours and far too late. By this time the audience was too exhausted to express its approval or disapproval.

The rather anaemic Festival received a shot in the arm in the Deutschlandhalle where the Théâtre de Soleil performed Ariane Mnouchkine's production of the revolutionary spectacular 1789.

The producer and her passionately committed ensemble got to grips with their subject of the French Revolution and the events leading to it. The play was performed on high platforms before a gently rising auditorium of sometimes even among the audience forcing it into the role of the people.

This was how production achieved the direct effect that good street theatre can have. The effect was heightened as the

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A scene from Hans Werner Henze's *Natascha Ungeheuer* at the Berlin Festival (Photo: Ise Buhl)

THE ARTS

Fascinating Indian art museum opens in Berlin

The darkened rooms with black walls here hang brightly lit fragments of 100 years of wall paintings from the Buddhist cave temples of East Turkestan. The magnificent colouring, brown, beige, ochre, grey, blue, is gripping.

A dancing queen with bared breasts, garlands flying through the air, knights, sales, shepherds, monks and all the time the figure of the sitting Buddha. Legends are heaped on top of legends, scenes from Hell are mixed with images of Heaven.

The Turfan collection, unique of its kind in the world, is the main attraction at the Museum of Indian Art in the old district of Berlin. The exhibition opened on 7 October.

This collection was brought to Berlin from Central Asia in the years prior to the First World War, but it has never been presented to the public in such a fascinating way before.

The Museum of Indian Art in Berlin is unique outside the Indian sub-continent, since Indian art generally speaking only forms one section of other museums. Although some of these objects d'art were brought to Berlin as long as the early nineteenth century this art museum is the youngest of the fourteen museums belonging to the Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

The most valuable and most outstanding pieces were obtained by the Museum between 1880 and 1914. The collection suffered heavy losses during the Second World War.

Sixty sculptures in stone, forty per cent of the Turfan frescoes and forty chests containing other Indian art treasures were destroyed in the air-raid shelter at the Museum between 1880 and 1914. The collection suffered heavy losses during the Second World War.

The new building has no windows. Picked out by spotlights the objects d'art stand on like jewels on black velvet in the darkened rooms.

Some of the sculptures seem to float around the room since the black metal

Continued from page 6

producer had tricked spectators into not identifying themselves with the actors. The Théâtre de Soleil invited its audience to attend a play performed by the buffoons of 1789 who acted the miseries of that year as they wished. The producer thus took advantage of the opportunity of not only showing history but also prompting critical reflection.

The success of the Paris ensemble and the foreign companies invited to Berlin does not alter the fact that the whole idea of the Festival must be re-examined.

The success of the Paris ensemble and the foreign companies invited to Berlin does not alter the fact that the whole idea of the Festival must be re-examined. Berlin's own theatres must be integrated more sensibly and effectively into the festival programme as it should be in part an advertisement for the city.

Integration does not prove successful if it would be better to liquidate the festival than to allow an event that had promising beginnings to sink into mediocrity and insignificance.

Helmut Kotschewer (Kistner Nachrichten, 12 October 1971)

pillars on which they stand like trophies are lost in the dark.

"Architecture and design had to take a back seat in this case," said architect Fritz Bornemann. "Considering the great value of the works of art on show here it was essential that the public's gaze should not be distracted from them."

This has been achieved with great success. The way the rooms are laid out the art works on show seem to take on a magical attraction.

The permanent exhibition is complemented by two smaller shows on the lower gallery, where an art studio has been set up in which the objects are changed from time to time with no ballyhoo! The objects on show there are supposed to belong to groups of which only a few examples can be shown at the main exhibition.

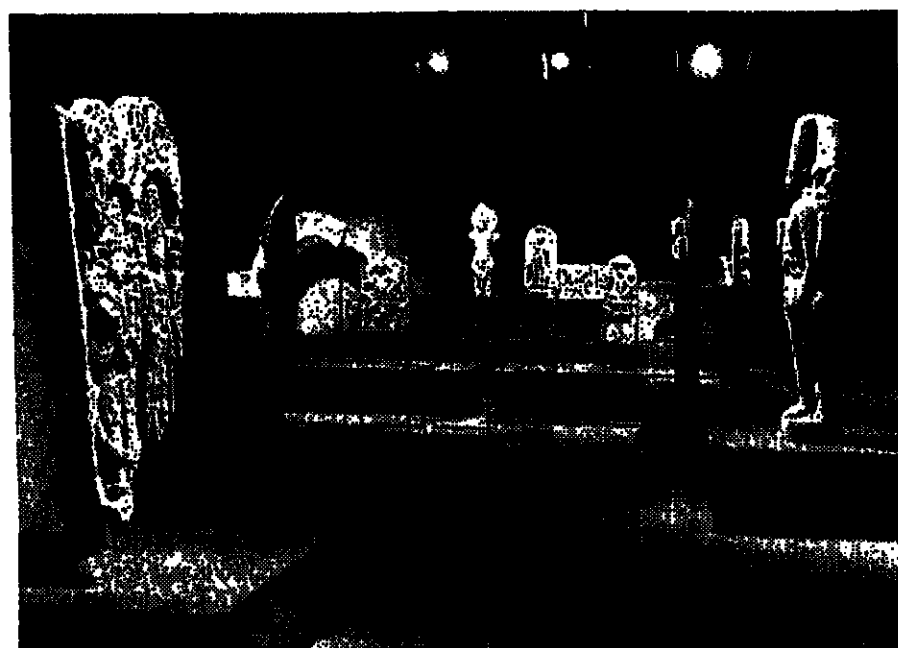
In the gallery it is possible to see a display of pictures and writings of the archaeological work undertaken by the museum.

Shortly Herr Härtel, the museum director, will visit the historical hill of Sonkh in northern India for the sixth time. This is an area rich in the Indian culture and art of the third and fourth centuries A.D.

He calls India an archaeologist's paradise. "You could go on digging there for a thousand years and still make important finds," he said.

The first objects on show at the Dahleim museum are the sculptures in stone. Here a smiling seated Buddha can be seen, there a dancing Siva, a many-armed Vishnu, the head of the ascetic Gautama, a pair of snake gods and a goddess of the river, picked out in the dark by spotlights.

The materials used are yellowish-brown granite, reddish sandstone, grey gneiss, black chlorite. One group of sculptures, the Roman-Greco-Indian, has familiar characteristics. Opposite this there is the powerful, rustic joie de vivre of the earlier Indian objects d'art. Beneath this there are



Lighting enhances Indian art treasures in Berlin museum

(Photo: Nina von Jaanson)

unique objects such as the goddess with a jackal's head and the three-headed bronze Vishnu.

In glass show-cases figures in ivory, of brass with pearls, green jade and gold material, royal veils, which make modern day brocade look peculiarly coarse can be seen.

Full lighting is thrown on a magnificently carved domestic shrine as tall as a man from the 18th century, and on the graphic hand-writing of pictures from the same period which take in knowledge of the gods, men and the underworld in red and gold.

A large room is filled with miniatures. These valuable illustrations come mainly from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Complete legends explained in full in the excellent catalogue are recounted in these pictures. Love stories, jealous husbands and down-cast women, children at play, caravans, garden concerts, audiences at the Mogul court, polo games and amorous scenes — all flat, almost without perspective and in brilliant colours.

The Turfan frescoes — of the three hundred there are eighty on show — are not kept behind glass. They are protected from inquisitive fingers by a small pit. These date from the fifth to ninth

centuries A.D. They are up to one and a half centimetres in thickness and are made of loam mixed with chaff or animal hair. One of those cave temples discovered in the first decade of this century north of the Deccan on the main highway to China and in which the frescoes were found was re-build according to the measurements taken from preserved paintings and fitted out with original frescoes.

For the time being the new building programme at Dahleim has been ended with the opening of this museum of Indian art. Other new buildings house the museums for ethnology, East Asian art and Islamic art.

Within a few years on this site a complex of modern buildings which does not look spectacular from the outside but which are fascinating on the inside has been built up forming not only a tourist attraction for Berlin but a mecca for experts from all over the world who never fail to be filled with amazement and generous with praise. For the opening of the museum of Indian art many internationally famous Indologists and archaeologists came to Berlin.

Liselotte Müller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 October 1971)

Mineralogists solve art jigsaw puzzle

Today this is known as the Meleager Sarcophagus. Dating from the third century AD this sarcophagus was the last resting place of a captain of the praetors, the Roman Emperor's bodyguard. It had to be reconstructed from three fragments and the three mineralogists were able to prove that the three sections belonged together.

One large fragment of it spent years in a museum in Kassel and two further sections were purchased in 1968 from a Frankfurt museum.

It turned out that the reliefs in white Greek marble obviously fitted together and together formed an artistically highly interesting and qualitatively very valuable piece of sculpture, perpetuating a scene from a Greek saga.

The hunter Meleager is seen slaying a wild boar before the eyes of the beautiful Atalanta and the Dioscuri twins.

Furthermore, this work of art, if correctly reconstructed, was an important link between late antique developments and mediaeval art.

Thus the job of proving that the pieces belonged to the same jigsaw puzzle was handed over to the mineralogists.

Their job was not easy, since the white marble did not show any typical giveaway signs and in Roman antiquity more than fifty types of white marble from Greece were used by artists.

The scientists had to find new ways of identifying the different pieces of sculpted stone. This they did by taking a number of measurements in which they calculated to a high degree of accuracy the size and forms of the crystals of chalk spar (which forms the marble), the dimensions of minute crystals of quartz and pyrites (an iron and sulphur compound) in the chalk spar, the segmentation of the pieces of stone and the quantities of foreign chemicals in the stone.

These data tallied but were not sufficient proof of the origins of this important artistic and historical find. And so these individual data were compared with other types of marble and the comparison was subjected to the theory of probability.

This showed that the similarity of the characteristics was so great that the probability of the pieces fitting together was more than 99 per cent.

With this proof — legal eagles would term it "probability verging on certainty" — the Meleager Sarcophagus was stamped as an example of the development of antique art.

Harald Strehert

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 October 1971)

MEDICINE

New artificial hormone helps sexual offenders

Approximately two thousand male patients, most of them in the Federal Republic, are currently being treated by a medicament inhibiting the sexual drive that, though not yet on the market, should help to cure sexual offenders.

The medical demand for supplies is rising daily. Judges here and in Switzerland are suspending sentences if the offender agrees to take this medicament.

Doctors and lawyers are however manoeuvring themselves into a tricky position. On the one hand, the medicament has not been registered at the Federal Health Bureau nor is its distribution yet permitted by that body.

On the other hand, there were 11,395 sexual offences involving children in 1969 and 5,457 cases of rape. In North Rhine-Westphalia alone 171 sexual murderers were arrested that year. Ten had already been sentenced once before for sexual offences. Four had appeared before the courts more than once.

Can this new inhibitive medicament achieve what prison sentences never do and psychiatric treatment only rarely? Can it control an uncontrollable sexual drive and cure the criminal behaviour of men with a perverse disposition?

Cypoterone is the name of the compound developed in the Schering works that counteracts the natural male sexual hormones as an anti-androgen. After a long period of animal experiments substance SH 80714 was released for hospital trials five years ago with relatively clear conscience, the manufacturers state.

Almost all the 547 human guinea-pigs were exhibitionists, homosexuals, paedophiles, prisoners serving a sentence for sexual offences and men who had sexually molested young boys or girls.

The experiment proved successful in 75 per cent of the cases. Their hypersexuality was braked and their overpowering sexual drive controlled. Psychotherapy was successful in these conditions. Many of the offenders could return to their families and be rehabilitated into society.

Since then the artificial hormone has been thought of as a miracle cure. Newspapers report that sexual offenders demand a course of treatment in order to remain free.

Fathers ask their family doctor for the medicament if their sons are going through a difficult stage of puberty. Mothers want it prescribed for their daughters so that they lose interest in an undesired lover.

One lady doctor is said to have given the medicament to a small child to stop it playing with its genital area. The "anti-sex pill" has achieved legendary fame in such a short time.

This fame is due in part to another lady doctor who has already held eighty lectures reporting on her success. She has also been engaged by the manufacturers to talk at the next international congress in Mexico.

But scientific journals do not allow their readers to have any doubts at all about the problems surrounding the use of this medicament.

Anti-androgens regulate the strength of the drive but they do not control the direction. Exhibitionists and homosexuals remain exhibitionists and homosexuals. When the substance wears off the sex drive may increase. Most patients relapse to their former condition.

But compared with surgical castration, permitted under certain circumstances since February 1970, the method involving the use of medicaments has the advantage of not being irrevocable.

For the same reason however treatment must be continued uninterruptedly over a long period. Apart from medical supervision, this demands that the patient appreciates the necessity of such action.

Past experience has shown that alcoholics and patients with psychoses or brain damage are unsuitable. The reactions of the mentally sick or sub-normal were unpredictable. Violent criminals with certain hereditary factors also have little prospect of being treated successfully.

Inferiority complexes and other defects in the patient's personality can also prove a hindrance as can the domestic environment and human relationships into which the rehabilitated offender returns.

Lasting side-effects resulting from this treatment have not been reported in the Federal Republic. Only in the United States where the substance is still in the examination stage has a case of jaundice been recorded.

Here too it is thought that the medicament could result in lasting damage if used for treating a young person. Anti-androgens do not only interrupt the maturing process but can also stop it permanently.

Experts generally believe that the use of the medicament can only be advocated where there is simultaneous psychiatric treatment. This does not mean that it will be restricted to one particular group of doctors — the rest could not be discriminated against in this way.

Could the substance get into the wrong hands because of doctors who will sign a prescription as a favour? A large-scale campaign is planned to guard against this by giving full information on the effects of the medicament.

The manufacturers admit that it could take years before every doctor has read the information. The flood of pharmaceutical literature sent to doctors through the post is nearly all consigned to waste-paper baskets.

Scientists and doctors are now testing what other uses this anti-androgen substance can be put to. Research has been conducted into its effects on acne and the tendency to miscarriages.

Effective contraception is required of young women are to be treated in this way as this artificial hormone can lead to a male foetus developing a disposition towards female organs.

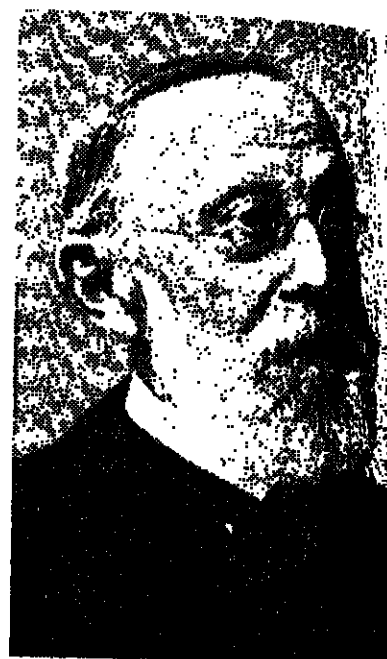
Despite all reservations Schering's are now preparing an application for the medicament's registration for use in cases of pathological hypersexuality and criminal sexual behaviour.

It is reckoned that the anti-sex pill will be available at chemists in about a year's time.

The firm is being cautious in view of the great demand. The suspicion could otherwise arise that the registration was being brought forward because of the pressure from doctor's waiting-rooms.

Thes Winandy

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 October 1971)



Rudolf Virchow
(Photo: Staatsbibliothek Bonn)

Prominent doctor and archaeologist remembered

Rudolf Virchow, the great medical man who was a medical historian, the founder of cellular pathology and one of the founders of modern anthropology, did excellent work in three fields.

Apart from medicine it was the politics of his era that fascinated him. He was a member of the Prussian House of Deputies and, after 1871, the German Reichstag.

He was among the founder members of the *Fortschritt* (Progress) Party and was one of Bismarck's fiercest opponents during the constitutional conflict of 1861 and 1862.

But he switched sides to support the Chancellor during the *Kulturkampf*. As a liberal opponent of the Church he interpreted the word *Kulturkampf* as a fight for culture against the Church.

The full extent of his third field of activity is still largely unknown. He was in fact an important archaeologist though it was only his hobby as we should say today.

Enough is known about his friendship with Heinrich Schliemann, his part in the excavations at Troy and his determined support for Schliemann when he was dismissed by the experts as a fool and a dilettante.

Virchow was invited to give one of the main speeches at the First International Prehistorical Congress in Paris in 1865. In 1881 he was invited by the Russians to attend the archaeological congress in Tiflis.

His first archaeological work was in the Eastern territories where he differentiated between Slavonic and Germanic finds. He was also the first person to define the Lausitz Culture, existing some two thousand years BC.

He later began to excavate in the Caucasus. His monumental work *The Graveyard of Koban in the Land of the Ossetes* was published in 1883. In 1895 there appeared a large volume on "ornamental bronze girdles from Trans-Caucasian graves".

Virchow was of vital importance to Schliemann as he not only supported the discovery of Troy but also did all he could to reconcile him with the country that had mocked his work.

It was Virchow who forced people to accept the view that the continuity of Western civilisation began in fact on the Western shores of Asia Minor among the Ionians.

It is surprising how rich and vivid the picture of Rudolf Virchow has recently become 150 years after his birth. In Schivelbein, Pomerania, on 13 October 1821.

Herbert M. Schönfeld
(Hannoversche Presse, 13 October 1971)

EDUCATION

Seventy teachers from America settle down in Hamburg

Do you all understand me?" maths master William Mrozek from Illinois occasionally asks his sixth-formers in German at Hamburg's Bismarck-Gymnasium, a school boasting a good reputation in a city known to set high educational standards.

Despite possible language difficulties the boys seem to have no trouble in following their American maths master who comes to differential calculus and algebra.

"I used to have really mediocre maths pupils," sixteen-year-old Jan Schmüser comments. "At long last I now have some who because Herr Mrozek's German is so okay that he has to take it slowly."

"German maths teachers," he adds, "used more often than not to branch out into ecstasies of mathematical eloquence that next to no one could make head or tail of."

A lightning tour of Hamburg schools employing some seventy teachers from the United States would seem to confirm that an experiment followed with the greatest of interest all over the country is well on the way to being a success.

Most schoolchildren are satisfied with their visiting teachers and reckon American lessons are at least as effective as the same ground covered by a teacher of German nationality.

As for the American teachers themselves they have nothing but praise for their new charges. "They are far more active and interested than their counterparts in the United States."

Last but not least Rüdiger Boye, a member of the German staff, notes that "Our American does a first-rate job. There are no difficulties in the way of discipline either." Yet form masters were a little worried to begin with that the influx of American staff might create difficulties.

Initially it looked as though Hamburg's American schoolteachers, "imported" to combat a chronic shortage of staff on the science side, were destined to become political dynamite.

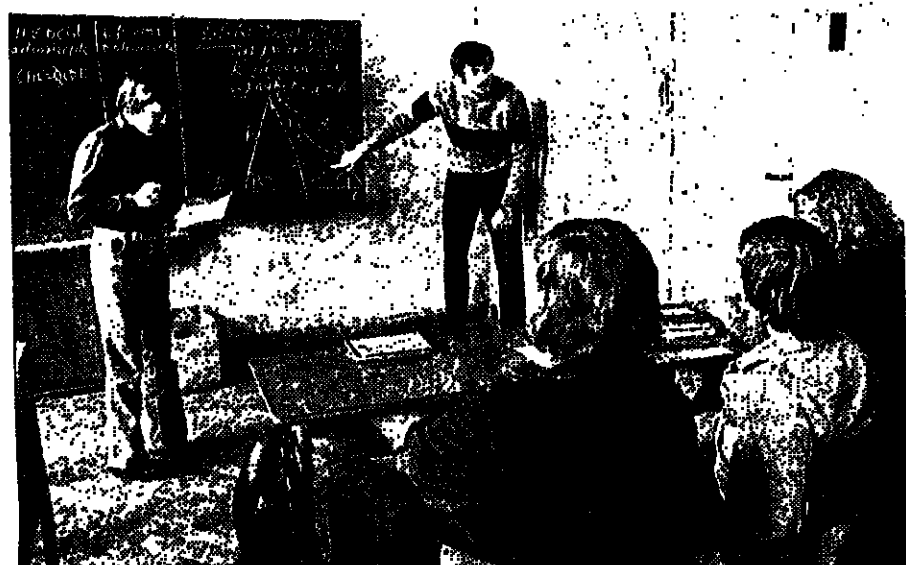
Serious criticism was levelled from three quarters in early September when they first started work, the main point being that few of them spoke adequate German.

After the first week a spokesman for Hamburg's schoolchildren's "parliament" described the American teachers as a "cheap makeshift."

Communication between teacher and pupil was at times so difficult, he noted, that school-leavers might well end up with poorer *Abitur* grades and have trouble in gaining admission to university.

Student teachers at university voiced fears that American staff might beat them to the choice jobs, not to mention disapproval of the possibility that American teachers might be earning more money than their German counterparts.

The Christian Democratic Opposition on Hamburg city council accused the education department of launching a popular advertising campaign in the Uni-



American teacher shows Hamburg pupils the ropes

(Photo: Fritz Peyer)

ed States overhastily and without consulting the Hamburg schools beforehand.

The Opposition also voiced fears that the education department had failed to emphasise the importance of visiting American teachers speaking adequate German.

William Mrozek, like most of the others, belongs to the "B" category of teachers who teach in German with an admixture of English. A few speak almost perfect German and a still smaller number speak next to none.

The education department has arranged intensive German language courses for the American staff, who are a little sceptical as to the value of them. They feel too much attention is paid to formal grammar and too little to public speaking.

The amount of teaching they do is also based on the German they speak. American teachers whose German is considered almost perfect hold twenty to 23 lessons

a week, the medium category teach twelve to thirteen and the poor a maximum of six lessons a week.

The education department hopes that all American teachers will be able to do a full week's work within three months. By then they will be teaching 1,500 hours a week in maths, physics, biology and chemistry, lessons that might otherwise have fallen by the wayside because the staff to teach them is not available.

American teachers in Hamburg have two-year contracts and earn a minimum of between 1,800 and 2,800 Marks a month, the same as their German counterparts. On the other hand it has been specially agreed by the authorities in both countries that they are not eligible for taxation in this country, and they need not pay tax in the United States either.

Thomas Wolgast

(Münchener Merkur, 5 October 1971)

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THE ECONOMY

Price increases have surpassed everybody's wildest fears

Not only the fight against creeping inflation but also the latest reports from the prices battle-front have been causing great difficulties for the economic planners in Bonn of late. On both scores they have failed to come up with any original ideas for months.

In the sixth monthly report issued by the Federal Economic Affairs Ministry it was stated that it had not yet been possible to achieve "a far-reaching alteration to the unsatisfactory situation with regard to prices."

And in the eighth "...the prices situation is still unsatisfactory."

In the latest situation report the Bonn economics experts were still unable to report having achieved satisfaction. With resignation they state: "All in all the situation...has remained unsatisfactory particularly with regard to price trends. There still seem to be no signs of the upward spiral of prices abating."

The opposite is nearer the truth. Prices of consumer goods in the Federal Republic were 5.9 per cent higher this August than in the record month of August 1970. The decline in the purchasing power of the Mark continued apace, in fact at a greater rate than at any time in the past twenty years, according to the Bundesbank.

Karl Schiller, the Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, is being held responsible for this trend by the Opposition, yet only four years ago the Professor was sure that he could control the economy and in particular prices at will.

With great self-confidence he told West German housewives in 1967: "You know that our economic policy is designed to get results over the medium term. In this context...we are striving to cut back the yearly rate of price increases from the present 1.4 or 1.5 per cent to just one per cent in 1971."

Now with 1971 three-fourths gone the index of price rises is at 5.9 per cent and the economics professor who was promoted to Finance Minister on top of his previous post as Economic Affairs Minister is a much more modest man.

He said: "We should not submit to the illusion that we can achieve price stability in the strictest sense overnight." He added that he would now be content if "...in the course of 1972 we can get back to a tolerable level of price increases."

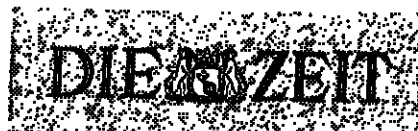
Far from the one per cent he aimed at for this year the Professor would now be content if he could peg back the index to 3.5 per cent in 1972. And even this hope is optimistic in the extreme.

These prospects are all the more depressing for the once so triumphant Minister since he has virtually used up all his ammunition in the fight for price stability and not really hit the target.

After the Social Democrats took over government in 1969 Karl Schiller was able to carry out the revaluation of the Mark which the previous Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger (CDU) had vetoed.

In an attempt to help matters by cutting government spending many of the reforms which the Social Democrats had cherished had to be sacrificed on the altar of price stability.

In order to cut down the keenness of the consumer to be parted with his money a ten per cent surcharge on income tax was imposed between August 1970 and June this year. The five thousand million Marks that this brought in were frozen in the Bundesbank vaults along with the three milliard Marks diverted from the budgets of central and



Federal state governments as the economic adjustment reserve.

When all this failed to do the trick Karl Schiller spent a dramatic week fighting to free the parity of the Mark and won the day on 9 May. Thereby he introduced de facto a renewed revaluation "as the basis for a stabilisation of the domestic economic situation."

On that occasion Professor Schiller told the Bundestag: "The ninth of May is a day of stability...The way ahead towards achieving stability will still be hard. But the aim of stability is now no longer a mirage."

But now after five months of floating which has effectively revalued the Mark by more than ten per cent compared with the dollar and on average by more than seven per cent against other currencies the question whether the government is perhaps still chasing a mirage is still valid.

A look across our borders brings little comfort. Compared with international trends the Federal Republic is still in a favourable position. Even in Switzerland where stability is highly treasured the rate of inflation has reached 6.7 per cent; in the Netherlands the figure is 7.2 per cent and in Great Britain it is as high as 10.3 per cent.

Although almost one million people are out of work in Great Britain wages and prices continue to climb gaily.

President Nixon, who promised his electorate equivalent keen fighting against inflation, has had just as bitter experiences as Premier Edward Heath. Despite recession and five million unemployed in America prices there rose by six per cent in 1970.

And again at the beginning of this year with another election campaign looming large when President Nixon again launched his promises and set the course for expansion he could not escape the spectre of stagflation - combined high un-

In the next few months we will be faced with an economic development that could become perilous for the individual and for people as a whole. This is not being too alarmist.

All economic researchers and most of the politicians who deal with the economy are agreed on their forecast. All three major parties are in agreement as are both sides of industry.

Inasmuch as economic happenings can be covered by sober calculations everybody's figures for future economic trends tally.

If nothing happens to change the trend orders, investment and the level of employment will all go down in the next few months and at a greater rate than that which has been noted since the spring of this year. The overall level of productivity should stay at the stage it has now reached, but productivity in the different sectors should be affected in vastly different ways.

With the level of employment and the number of hours of overtime being worked declining the level of consumer demand is no longer likely to act as a prop for the economy.

Therefore it does not appear misplaced to compare the present situation with the 1966/67 recession. Pessimists reckon that we will not get off so lightly this time,

employment and inflation. And so the unemployment figures in the United States climbed to the six-million mark.

Fearing that his goose would be cooked at the next election President Nixon saw no other choice but to implement protectionist measures and dictation of the economy - and this in a country where the freedom of the economy was always considered one of the great sacred cows.

In August he introduced a special import surcharge and a wage and price freeze to be effective until mid-November. And since then he has announced that even when these ninety days are up strict controls on wages, prices and even profits will be retained. What could not be achieved by economic means is now being tried by administrative moves.

The Scandinavian countries already put such moves into practice before America. In Britain and France too the degree of administrative interference in economic affairs is increasing.

Successes have in all cases been but slight. With their fear of difficulties on the domestic policy scene the governments are fighting halfheartedly against the symptoms and above all against the causes of price troubles.

A more basic reason for monetary inflation, however, is the inflation of demands from all sides against which economic policies are well nigh impotent. Without taking account of the overall economic situation organised vested interest groups are pushing through their members' demands for higher subsidies, more wages and shorter working hours.

With the present degree of specialisation in our economy even small groups can blackmail society by stopping essential services such as the posts, railways and air transport and can lame whole industries.

The demands of the consumer are being carried out and the consumer is not being warned off by higher and higher prices. After all he knows that another pay rise is just around the corner. At the same time everybody expects the State to produce

Bonn must speak out as economy hits danger point

either, since the factors that could affect a reflation of the economy are no longer as favourable as they were five years ago.

It is more difficult to keep a tight rein on inflation since the level of price increases is so high and in the light of the world currency crisis it is unlikely that our economy will be supported on this occasion by exports.

A sober review of the economy along these lines is expected from the Bonn government in the next few weeks. It is one of their responsibilities to come clean to the citizens of this country about the economic situation.

Perhaps Willy Brandt has failed to make a statement on the economy - and he is the right man for the job - because his Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Karl Schiller has not come up with a recipe for solving the economic problems. Maybe Schiller's long absence from Bonn explains the delay.

We cannot escape unscathed after the long years of economic boom. There are no magicians in the government. In purely economic terms there are two

more and more for society - schools and roads, higher subsidies, more pay for servants, more expenditure on the sciences, defence and the health service. The result is a continued strain on the economy and the symptom of the disease is inflation.

The old instruments of economic policy-making are no longer effective. While the President of the United States deals out a wage and price freeze American dockers are out on strike.

Although Karl Schiller's additional ten per cent on the taxes froze five thousand million Marks of West German spending power the German consumer's spending spree in April this year was sixteen per cent more than at the same time last year and another nine per cent in June.

At a time when the purchase of consumer goods has prestige value to society and omnipresent advertising makes for a constantly increasing need consumers are not likely to be put off by a few per cent more on their taxes. Moreover no one takes promises of striving for stability seriously from a government which will soon have to stand for re-election.

While Karl Schiller is fighting desperately for price stability and his reputation as an economic master, the Chancellor can not refrain from saying that the effort is not so serious. Before the delegated IG Metall and in the Bremen local election campaign Willy Brandt reassurances that "stabilisation of the economy must not take place over the dead bodies of the workers."

Naturally the Opposition is not being surprised in inconsistency by anyone and certainly not by the government. Although their spokesmen constantly make loud laments whenever talk turns to prices no day passes without their moaning about the consequences of efforts to restore stability.

Nor has the CDU/CSU come up with a recipe of how to restore stability and full employment under the present circumstances.

Meanwhile Willy Brandt has distanced himself from "unrealistic suggestions about the degree of price stability that can be achieved in the short-term." And his Economic Affairs Minister Karl Schiller would be content if he could achieve in the long-term no more than what he rejected in early 1970 when he stated optimistically: "Price increases of two or 2.5 per cent in the middle-term are too high for us."

Michael Jungblut
(Die Zeit, 15 October 1971)

possible courses in a phase where recession is on the way in. A booster can be given by means of government contracts, particularly in the building industries, lower interest rates and a repayment of taxes or lowering of the present tax rates.

Such measures could mean that production capacities here would be used to the full again. But price rises would continue.

The other possibility is to wait for price stability as a solid basis for growth and prosperity. This method is favoured by those who point out that price rises sabotage all efforts to distribute wealth more fairly.

Since the Bundesbank decided to make credit easier to come by we have come to realise that economic policymakers are not stability fanatics. They do pay attention to industry and the needs of those who earn their bread from it. But Bonn does not intend the Bundesbank's action to be taken as a booster. There is an aversion in Bonn to a shot-in-the-arm of this kind, partly because the level of prices for consumer goods is about six per cent up on the figures for the same period of last year.

Here and there people are showing less and less effort and the desire to get things done is beginning to flag. But out

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WORKING CONDITIONS

Munich professor recommends 6-hour day instead of 4-day week

1,000 workers subjected to an investigation in Baden-Württemberg were found to be ill. More than eighty per cent of white-collar workers, according to a recent Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions' report do not sit correctly in their office and as a result suffer from bad posture leading to spinal damage and slipped discs as well as mental damage.

There has been a startling increase in disability at an early age in the Federal Republic. Alarming stories of this kind can be heard and read almost every day. Recently the Bavarian Academy for Medicine at Work and in Society held a conference in Munich dealing with the topic "Nervous and Psychic Strain at Work."

The Süddeutsche Zeitung recently spoke with the head of the Institute for Physiology and Working Conditions at Munich's Technische Universität, Professor Wolf Müller-Limmroth. He was asked what are the main dangers at work and how they could be counteracted.

The Professor's working day obviously involves such a tight schedule that he has to divide his time up into minutes. On his desk he has three different hour glasses going at the same time. It is not necessary to use an alarm clock: when the sand has run through your time is up. Behind him there sits a worried secretary who chimes in: "It's eleven o'clock." Time for the Professor's next interview.

Despite the constant demands made on him Professor Müller-Limmroth is of amazing vitality and shows no signs of being even after spending three quarters of an hour expressing his thoughts without a break.

From time to time he draws contentedly on his cigar and swivels in his office chair, which he describes as "optimally comfortable". Apart from being completely adjustable to fit the body and slow movement the chair is covered with sheepskin which the Professor explains is cool in summer and warm in winter.

Men at work is now subject to completely different demands, the Professor explains. In the past the main demand on him was for hard physical graft but now with mechanisation, automation and rationalisation it is his nerves and mind that bear the brunt.

Even in factories any number of people employed in a controlling function, adjusting clocks and dials and operating levers. These workers must keep their concentration at all times during the shift so that they can leap into action at any time. They can never relax.

The daily graph of a man is as follows: with a low-average output. He reaches his energy peak at eleven. After lunch signs of fatigue creep up on him no matter

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economic system cannot function without individuals being given incentives to greater productivity.

It is one of the most pressing tasks of the government in Bonn to extricate the country from this situation as quickly as possible.

It is essential that the government break down this wall of silence with regard to the present state of the economy or there is a danger that it will fall between two stools.

And words alone are not sufficient.

Kurt Simon
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 October 1971)



time or not. His lowest point is reached about two in the afternoon.

He is able to reach another peak of activity towards four o'clock but this is not so productive or energetic as the eleven o'clock spurt. From then on there is an irrevocable downward trend. The absolute low of human activity is in the wee small hours about two a.m. This is critical for those on the nightshift.

Therefore if a constant level of productivity is to be expected from an eight hour shift those concerned must have an opportunity to stoke up their reserves.

If a man is forced to completely exhaust himself day in and day out he becomes nervous and irritable and in the end falls sick. "Apart from holiday times this stress is often imposed throughout a whole life-time," the Professor said.

He added: "Demands on the nerves are in the long run far more hazardous than bodily exhaustion."

The greatest difficulty on the factory floor or in offices today consists of reconciling this biological graph to the productive powers of the work force. It must be taken into account that the ability to concentrate is subject to ups and downs. For a brainworker as opposed to manual labourer twenty minutes is the maximum period for which he can be expected to concentrate fully and remain equally attentive and on the quiver. Another factor is that the degree of attentiveness is practically dependent on conditions at the place of work.

Experts say that today about half of the so-called open-plan offices are not up to scratch. They lack the amenities that make such rooms tolerable such as full airconditioning, sound-proofing, carpeting, well designed furniture, good lighting, and interview rooms.

Professor Müller-Limmroth said: "I am not basically against open-plan offices but they should be broken up in some way, for example with shelves for books or flowers. This would help to cut down the disruptive noise level caused by interviews, telephones and the din of modern office machinery."

The sheer monotony of sounds from adding machines or comptometers can lower the level of concentration. At the same time the soporific effect of these noises can cause metabolic disorders, such as a nervous stomach, heart ailments and circulatory dysfunctions. The result of this can be irritability and even apathy. Soft music is one way of overcoming this.

An important part of productivity at work is quite literally the climate at the place of work: heating, lighting and airconditioning. Professor Müller-Limmroth's institute has stated that the air temperature should be between 70 and 74 degrees Fahrenheit, the rate of movement of the air from airconditioning should not be more than 0.2 metres per second and the relative humidity should be between forty and sixty per cent. For the absolute maximum of concentration the upper limit of "wind speed" in a room should be half the above mentioned figure.

Another factor to be taken into account is difference in the sexes. As women have a thicker layer of fat under their skin their skin temperature drops quicker which explains why at places of work where men and women are together the women tend to complain of feeling cold while the men are too warm.

Professor Müller-Limmroth said: "From the managerial point of view it is never wrong to invest in anything that makes for greater efficiency at the place of work."

In the draughtsman's office the controlled bodily movements required become more accurate. Typists make fewer errors. There is less inefficiency on the conveyor belts.

Food too should be geared to professional requirements. It should not contain too much fat and should be rich in high quality animal albumen. A most important requirement is sufficient vitamin B-1, which can be obtained from dark breads and Swedish bread, oats, lean pork, milk and curds.

Now we have pinpointed the mortal sins at a place of work: a bad climate, noise and monotony, poor furnishings and fittings leading to bad posture, bad eating habits and a lack of refreshment pauses. In addition the Professor adds: "Bad sleeping habits, an incorrect rhythm of work and refreshment and bad holiday habits."

This, Professor Müller-Limmroth explains quite rightly, is a bone of contention.

He said: "In future when there is talk of shortening the work period I would be all in favour of cutting the amount of work done per day and making the cuts in the second half of the shift where a working man uses up more of his reserves and is then subjected to the mad rush to get home through the evening traffic chaos. Instead of giving workers a longer week-end which they would only tend to use in haring around with their car it would be far better from the point of view of work and health to strive for the six-hour day rather than the four-day week."

The main reason for the Professor's

ideas, he explains thus: "We know the effect long layoffs cause to work and productivity and from the medical point of view the third day of a holiday is crisis day. If a man goes back to work after a three-day layoff his productivity subsides noticeably. One symptom of this is how uncertain many drivers are on a Monday morning."

Unfortunately stress at work today is having a disturbing effect on sleep. People today go to bed much later than their parents and grandparents' generation in the days before electric light or television. After the intensive strain of work they have difficulty falling asleep. Normally a healthy man falls immediately into a deep sleep and then gradually returns to consciousness towards morning. More and more people today do not follow this graph in their sleep. Many wake up between three and four o'clock have difficulty falling asleep again and then cannot drag themselves out of bed in the morning.

Therefore, in the Professor's opinion, it is most important for people to have two holidays a year. He is not in favour of holidays shorter than three weeks in length and favours two four-week holidays every year.

Moreover the ability to find relaxation and refreshment varies with the seasons and according to professions. For those who require physical fitness holidays in July and August with a good dose of ultraviolet sunlight are the best type.

For those who suffer from metabolic malfunctions such as nervous stomach, heart complaints and insomnia, mainly mental workers, the best time to take a holiday is January and February. Insomniacs should take winter holidays.

These holiday schedules for mental or physical workers are in no way dependent on where they take their holidays. If they feel like flying to Bangkok there is no objection. The most important point is to get out of the treadmill, eat regularly and slowly, go to bed at the right time and take plenty of walks in the fresh air.

In conclusion Professor Wolf Müller-Limmroth said: "Human energy is far too expensive and far too precious to be squandered."

Ingeborg Münzing

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 October 1971)

DAG social welfare plans vaguely worded



Delegates' comments ranged from "Marxistic" and "most grave" to "as binding as a Neckermann mail-order catalogue". These wide-ranging appraisals referred to the new programme of social welfare that had just been approved by DAG, the West German White-Collar Workers' Union, at its national congress in Nuremberg.

The result of this heavy toil was a compromise corresponding to the wide range of party-political views represented by this organisation.

Controversial points were at times so vaguely formulated that they could in many cases be interpreted in a variety of different ways. In other sections of the programme it was easy to see through the attempt to veil wishywashy statements with tough words.

In places where no unity at all was possible the congress report skated round the point.

The delegates' debate reached fever pitch above all at the question of land laws. The committee had not satisfied itself with a non-binding desire to see reform in this sphere, but had also submitted detailed suggestions for countering land speculation.

According to this land and building

sites should be made over to the State as so-called higher property. For their erstwhile owners there would remain legal rights of usage as "sub property owners". But the land would no longer be theirs to speculate with.

This suggestion was like a red rag to the property ideologists. They spoke in terms of socialisation and confiscation. Confirmed Christian Democrats at this threatened that they have to consider seriously their membership of the DAG if their objections fell on deaf ears.

But the love of house and garden prevailed and the majority of the delegates with their more conservative outlook refused to give their approval to the committee's concept. So the final version appearing in the DAG programme was that "something must be done about it!"

The whole catalogue of ideas contained little of any originality. The demands for worker participation on an equal basis, profit sharing and the introduction of a flexible retiring age - to name but a few - have been raised time and again by unions.

But despite many surface flaws this programme gives the DAG a platform from which to launch its social welfare plans.

Chairman Hermann Brandt summed up: "The discussion will never cease. We don't want stagnation, we want progress."

Peter Frugal

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 October 1971)

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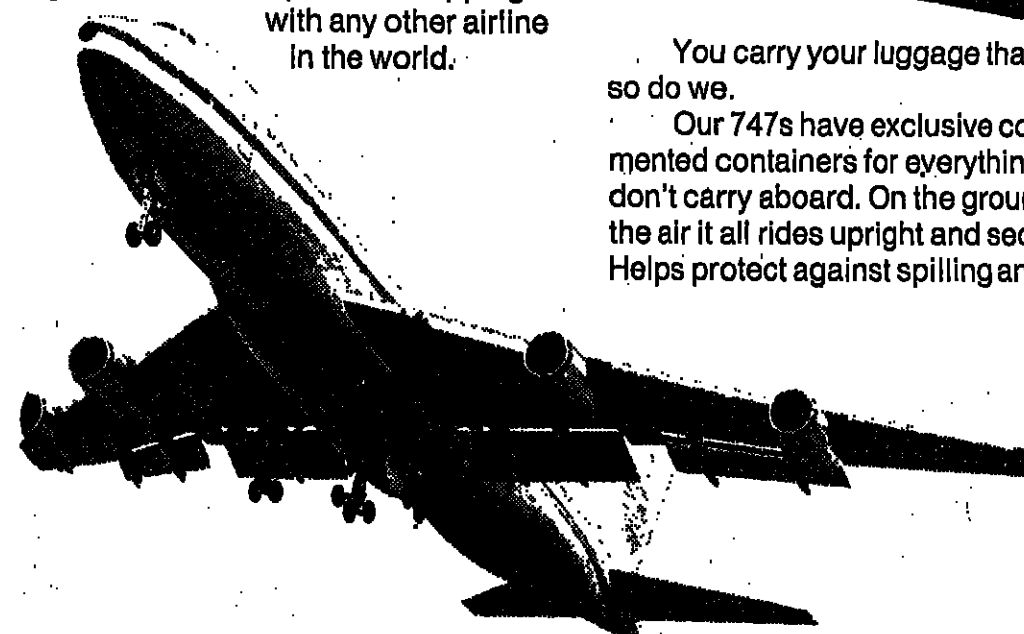
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